

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9458

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 USUN 3997

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: FR UNGA PFOR US

SUBJECT: FRENCH - US PRE-UNGA CONSULTATIONS

1. SUMMARY: US - FRENCH PRE-UNGA CONSULTATIONS AT USUN SEPT 24 SHOWED BASIC AGREEMENT ON MOST MAJOR ISSUES AND DESIRE OF BOTH SIDES TO REMAIN IN CLOSE CONTACT INCLUDING ONE SOME ITEMS WHERE THERE IS DIVERGENCE OF VIEWS. FRENCH POSITION REMAINS SOFTER THAN US ON QUESTIONS SUCH AS VIETNAM ADMISSION, ACCRA CONF ON DECADE AGAINST RACISM, AND PLO PARTICIPATION IN GA PLENARY, AND FRENCH CONTINUE TO HAVE RESERVATIONS ABOUT FRG INITIATIVE ON HOSTAGES. BOTH SIDES EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT UN BUDGETARY/ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS AND POLITICIZATION OF SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE OF AVOIDING UNGA CONFRONTATIONS. US AND FRENCH BOTH MADE SPECIAL NOTE OF THEIR IMPROVED CONSULTATIONS OVER PAST YEAR, AND AGREED THIS IS USEFUL AND SHOULD CONTINUE. FRENCH TEAM WAS LED BY INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS DIRECTOR RENE DE SAINT LEGIER, CHARGE LECOMPT, ROUGE, SCALABRE, PLUS OTHER FRENCH MISOFFS. US TEAM WAS HEADED BY GOV SCRANTON, AND INCLUDED IO ASST. SECRETARY CONFIDENTIAL

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LEWIS, IO UNP DIRECTOR HELMAN, AMBS SHERER AND MYERSON,

PLUS USUN MISOFFS. END SUMMARY.

2. 31ST UNGA SESSION: BOTH SIDES AGREED IT IS DIFFICULT TO PREDICT HOW SESSION WILL DEVELOP. KOREA AND PUERTO RICO ISSUES ARE OFF THE AGENDA BUT IT IS NOT CLEAR HOW OTHER MAJOR AREAS, SUCH AS SOUTHERN AFRICA, ME AND ECONOMIC FIELD WILL EVOLVE NOR FORM ANTICIPATED SOVIET NUF INITIATIVE WILL TAKE.

3. ELECTION OF SYG: ST. LEGIER SAID THAT IN ABSENCE OTHER DECLARED CANDIDATES RE-ELECTION OF WALDHEIM SEEKS BEST SOLUTION. RE ECHEVERRIA "CANDIDACY", ST. LEGIER MENTIONED RUMOR THAT PRC WOULD OPPOSE WALDHEIM IN SC, THEREBY OPENING WAY FOR ECHEVERRIA. GOV SCRANTON REPLIED THAT WALDHEIM HAD INDICATED TO HIM THAT HE DID NOT EXPECT CHINESE TO OPPOSE HIS CANDIDACY. GOV SCRANTON SAID WE HAVE REPORTS THAT CHINESE HAVE ASSURED AFRICANS THAT CHINESE WOULD SUPPORT WHATEVER CANDIDATE THIRD WORLD DECIDED TO BACK. ST. LEGIER REMARKED THAT WHILE M'BOW A POSSIBILITY, NIGERIANS HAD TOLD FRENCH THAT AFRICANS WOULD SUPPORT WALDHEIM.

4. KOREA: GOV SCRANTON AND ST. LEGIER EXCHANGED ASSESSMENTS ON PROBABLE NORTH KOREAN MOTIVATIONS FOR WITHDRAWAL OF ITEM FROM UNGA AGENDA. BOTH NOTED THAT NORTH KOREA WAS PROBABLY RELUCTANT TO RISK EVEN SLIGHT SLIPPAGE OF VOTES THIS YEAR, BUT AGREED THAT OTHER FACTORS PERHAPS ALSO INVOLVED, SUCH AS ADVERSE NON-ALIGNED REACTION TO PANMUNJOM INCIDENT AND NORTH KOREAN DOMESTIC POLITICAL SITUATION.

5. VIETNAM ADMISSION: GOV SCRANTON EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR FRENCH HELP IN SC AND EMPHASIZED HIS STRONG PERSONAL CONVICTION THAT PRES FORD IS DEEPLY DISTURBED BY VIETNAM USE OF MIA ISSUE AS BARGAINING CHIP FOR ECONOMIC AID, ETC. ST. LEGIER EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING OF US SPECIAL CONCERN ON VIETNAM BUT EMPHASIZED THAT IN FRENCH VIEW VIETNAM, EVEN MORE SO THIS YEAR THAN LAST, FULFILLS BASIC REQUIREMENTS FOR MEMBERSHIP AS A UNIFIED COUNTRY WITH ONE GOVT. FRENCH BELIEVE VIETNAM CONFIDENTIAL

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MEMBERSHIP IN UN WOULD BE ONE IMPORTANT METHOD OF AVOIDING ISOLATING VIETNAM TO DEGREE THAT IT WOULD SEE ITSELF FORCED TO RELY TOTALLY ON SOVIETS AND CHINESE. ST. LEGIER SAID THAT FOLLOWING RELEASE OF 12 MIA NAMES FRENCH AMB IN HANOI HAD BEEN TOLD BY VIETNAMESE THAT THEY WERE ABOUT TO MAKE AN IMPORTANT GESTURE TO THE US. ST. LEGIER SAID HE HAD SEEN NO EVIDENCE OF SUCH A GESTURE, AND ASKED IF THE US HAD. GOV SCRANTON REPLIED

THAT HE HOPES TO HAVE A DISCUSSION SOON WITH PRES FORD AND SECRETARY KISSINGER ON VIETNAM. GOV SCRANTON AND ASST SECY LEWIS SAID THEIR PERSONAL IMPRESSION WAS THAT RELEASE OF 12 MIA NAMES WAS SO INADQUATE THAT IT HAD HAD A NEGATIVE EFFECT ON US PUBLIC OPINION.

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6. MIDDLE EAST:

A. PLO PARTICIPATION: FRANCE SAID ARABS HAVE NOT YET DECIDED WHETHER TO SEEK A FULL-SCALE DEBATE ON ME QUESTION. FRANCE AGREED THAT PALESTINE REPORT WOULD PROBABLY BE THE CENTRAL FOCUS. RE PLO PARTICIPATION IN PLENARY, FRANCE AGREED WITH US THAT PLO SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO SPEAK IN GENERAL DEBATE BUT AFFIRMED FRENCH VIEW THAT PRECEDENT HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED FOR PLO PARTICIPATION IN PLENARY DISCUSSION OF SPECIFIC ITEMS. ST. LEGIER WENT ON TO SAY THAT UN LEGAL COUNSEL SUY WHEN QUERIED ABOUT PLO PARTICIPATION IN GENERAL DEBATE HAD AT FIRST AGREED WITH US/FRENCH POSITION BUT LATER UPON REFLECTION HAD TOLD FRENCH THAT NO "JURIDICAL" GROUNDS EXISTED FOR BARRING PLO PARTICIPATION IN GENERAL DEBATE, SHOULD THE ASSEMBLY SO

DECIDE. WITH REGARD TO SPECIFICS, ST. LEGIER SAID FRANCE
WOULD ABSTAIN ON ANY RES INVITING PLO TO GENERAL
DEBATE, BUT WOULD VOTE IN FAVOR OF UPHOLDING A RULING
FROM CHAIRMAN AGAINST PLO PARTICIPATION (NO COMMENT
WAS MADE CONCERNING FRENCH POSITION SHOULD CHAIR RULE
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FAVORABLY ON PLO PARTICIPATION). LEWIS EMPHASIZED US WOULD
OPPOSE PLO PARTICIPATION IN GENERAL DEBATE.

B. ZIONISM - RACISM: ST. LEGIER SAID HE CONSIDERS
FRENCH AND US POSITIONS BASICALLY SIMILAR AND BELIEVES
DIFFERENCE ONLY IS IN "NUANCE". FRANCE HAS BEEN INVITED
TO PARTICIPATE IN COORDINATING COMMITTEE OF ACCRA
CONF ON DECADE TO COMBAT RACISM. FRANCE IS DELAYING
DECISION UNTIL IT HAS CLEAR INDICATION THAT PROGRAMS
WILL NOT BE DIRECTED AGAINST ZIONISM. FRENCH PARTI-
CIPATION IN CONFERENCE ITSELF WILL BE DEPENDENT ON WHETHER
THERE IS ZIONISM/RACISM LINKAGE. LEWIS EMPHASIZED
THAT US AND ALSO UK BELIEVE THERE MUST BE A FORMAL BREAK
IN ZIONISM/RACISM LINKAGE BEFORE THEY COULD PARTICIPATE
AND ADDED THAT WE ARE NOT OPTIMISTIC THAT THE NECESSARY
FORMAL BREAK WILL BE MADE. MYERSON EMPHASIZED THE
TECHNICAL COMPLEXITIES INVOLVED AND IMPORTANCE OF US AND
FRANCE STAYING IN CLOSE TOUCH. HE POINTED OUT THAT WITH
RES 3379 STILL ON RECORD EVEN A "CLEAN RES" WOULD NOT
ELIMINATE RISK THAT ZIONISM/RACISM LINK COULD REIMERGE
AT ACCRA CONF. FRENCH SAID THEY WOULD WATCH SITUATION
CLOSELY AND "WOULD BE CAREFUL". LEWIS EMPHASIZED THAT
AT THIS POINT HE DOES NOT BELIEVE US COULD CONSIDER
GOING TO ACCRA "JUST TO SEE WHAT HAPPENED" EVEN
THOUGH A LATER WITHDRAWAL MIGHT PERHAPS HAVE SOME IMPACT.
OUR PRESENT POSITION IS THAT THERE MUST BE SOME CLEAR ACTION TO
BREAK THE ZIONISM/RACISM LINKAGE WITH THE DECADE.

C. UNRWA: FRENCH SHARED US CONCERN RE UNRWA,
NOTED SMALL ADDITIONAL FRENCH CONTRIBUTION OF \$300,000
AND SAID THEY HOPE SOMETHING POSITIVE WILL RESULT FROM
MEETING THIS WEEK OF MAJOR DONORS.

D. UNESCO: ST. LEGIER SAID GOF HAS NOT YET MADE
DECISION ON ISRAELI PARTICIPATION IN EUROPEAN GROUP, BUT
HE "HOPES FOR FAVORABLE DECISION".

E. SUSPENSION: FRANCE AGREED WITH US ASSESSMENT
THAT IT PRESENTLY APPEARS UNLIKELY THAT ARABS WILL
INITIATE OFFENSIVE TO SUSPEND ISRAEL. SITUATION COULD
CHANGE.

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7. CYPRUS: BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT TURKISH CYPRIOT REFUSAL TO PARTICIPATE IN UN DEBATE ON CYPRUS IS VERY UNFORTUNATE.

8. SOUTHERN AFRICA: FRANCE AGREED THAT CURRENT DIPLOMATIC EFFORT WILL AFFECT SC DEBATE ON NAMIBIA. IF THINGS GO BADLY, CHAPTER VII SANCTIONS WILL PROBABLY BE PROPOSED. FRENCH POSITION ON CHAPTER VII REMAINS THE SAME. FRANCE COMMENTED THAT IT IS CURRENTLY IN "THE FRYING PAN" AS A RESULT OF NUCLEAR REACTOR AGREEMENT WITH SOUTH AFRICA.

9. TFAI: FRANCE SAID SOMALIA PROBABLY WILL NOT BRING UP TFAI AT THIS UNGA BUT ETHIOPIA MIGHT RAISE IT IN FOURTH COMMITTEE. THIS IS ONE OF THOSE ISSUES CREATING DIVISIONS AMONG AFRICANS THEMSELVES. WHEN ASKED WHETHER FRANCE CONTEMPLATED A DEFENSE AGREEMENT, ST. LEGIER SAID FRANCE WOULD MAINTAIN MILITARY PRESENCE IF REQUESTED BY TFAI BUT FRANCE ITSELF WOULD NOT INITIATE REQUEST. LEWIS AFFIRMED US SUPPORT FOR FRENCH EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT INDEPENDENCE IN WAY THAT WOULD LEAD TO AS MUCH SECURITY IN THE AREA AS POSSIBLE, AND SAID US WILLING TO BE HELPFUL AS NEEDED IN UNGA.

10. COMORAS AND MAYOTTE: FRANCE THANKED US FOR ABSTENTION ON INSCRIPTION. THE DEBATE WILL BE DIFFICULT. FRENCH EXPRESSED IRRITATION AT PRESENT UN TREND TO EQUATE SELF-DETERMINATION WITH INDEPENDENCE. ST. LEGIER COMMENTED THAT MAYOTTE IS ALSO TRYING TO APPLY PRESSURE IN THE OTHER DIRECTION, EXPRESSING DISSATISFACTION WITH ITS SPECIAL STATUS AND THE DESIRE TO BE MADE A FRENCH DEPARTMENT.

11. REPORT OF COMMITTEE OF 24: US STATED THAT IF RES ON GUAM INCLUDES THE COMITE OF 24'S EXPRESSION OF "CONCERN OVER THE CONTINUING PRESENCE OF MILITARY BASES", WE WOULD VOTE AGAINST THE RES AND HOPE OUR FRIENDS WOULD DO THE SAME. ST. LEGIER TOOK NOTE AND SAID THAT GOF WOULD DO "ALL THAT IS POSSIBLE" TO SATISFY US. ST. LEGIER ADDED THAT FRENCH HAD PROBLEMS WITH ITEM IN C-24 REPORT RE PROHIBITION OF NUCLEAR SALES

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TO SOUTH AFRICA.

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12. ASSESSMENT OF COLOMBO: FRENCH AGREED WITH US ASSESSMENT. ST. LEGIER SAID FRANCE IS "NOT WORRIED ABOUT "ANTI-FRENCH" RES BUT IS CONCERNED ABOUT POSSIBILITY IT MIGHT BE USED AS BASIS FOR FUTURE ACTION. HE ALSO COMMENTED ON NON-ALIGNED DIFFICULTIES IN DEALING WITH PROBLEMS SUCH AS SAHARA AND TFAI.

13. SOV INITIATIVE ON NON-USE OF FORCE: FRENCH REVIEWED CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN SAUVANARGUES AND GROMYKO IN SPRING AND ST. LEGIER AND ISRAELYAN IN LATE AUG. ALTHOUGH FRENCH DO NOT OPPOSE GENERAL PRINCIPLE OF NON-USE OF FORCE ("WHO DOES"), THEY CONSIDER IT SUPERFLUOUS TO HAVE A RES ON IT AGAIN THIS YEAR. SAUVANARGUES HAD EXPLAINED TO GROMYKO THAT FRANCE CANNOT ACCEPT NUF WITH SEPARATE CLAUSE REFERRING TO NON-USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS FOR TWO REASONS: (A) FRENCH DEFENSE SYSTEM IS BASED ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND (B) SUCH A SECOND CLAUSE UNDERMINES BASIC NUF CONCEPT. FRANCE HAD NO DETAILS TO ADD RE FORM SOV INITIATIVE MIGHT TAKE.

14. DISARMAMENT: BRIEF DISCUSSION OF DISARMAMENT
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CENTERED ON POSSIBLE NON-ALIGNED RES RE UNGA SPECIAL SESSION. FRENCH BELIEVE THERE WOULD BE VIRTUALLY NO OPPOSITION TO SUCH A PROPOSAL AND UNDERSTAND FROM DISCUSSIONS IN NY WITH CHINESE AND SOVS THAT THEY APPARENTLY WOULD NOT OPPOSE IT. IN RESPONSE TO US CONCERN THAT WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE MIGHT BE LINKED TO RES RE SPECIAL SESSION, FRENCH ASSERTED CONFIDENCE THAT THIS WOULD NOT HAPPEN BECAUSE SPONSORS WOULD SEEK WIDE SUPPORT AND ESPECIALLY US AND CHINESE PARTICIPATION IN SPECIAL SESSION. HOWEVER, WORLD DISARMAMENT CONF WOULD IN ALL LIKELIHOOD BE DISCUSSED AT SPECIAL SESSION. LEWIS SAID US POSITION PROBABLY WOULD BE DETERMINED ONLY SHORTLY BEFORE VOTE ON RES.

15. NORTH - SOUTH ISSUES: BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT THE ATMOSPHERE FOR ECONOMICS AT THE 31 ST GA WILL BE HEAVILY INFLUENCED BY EVENTS ELSEWHERE -- CIEC AND FOLLOW-UP TO UNCTAD IV. NEITHER SIDE EXPECTED MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE INITIATIVES IN THE SECOND COMMITTEE. US (MYERSON) AND FRANCE (ROUGE) AGREED THAT INFORMAL, PRACTICAL COOPERATION BETWEEN THE US AND FRENCH DELEGATIONS (AND THE EC-9) WORKS WELL AND THAT THE UNCTAD "GROUP B" SYSTEM IS NOT NEEDED IN NY. INTERESTING EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON SOME OF THE UN'S LONG-RANGE PROBLEMS, SUCH AS REGIONALIZATION, SUPPLEMENTED BRIEF DISCUSSION OF MORE IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS SUCH AS OUR MUTUAL HOPE TO AVOID REVISION OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY (IDS) THIS YEAR. ASST. SECY LEWIS EMPHASIZED OUR CONTINUED OPPOSITION TO HAVING REGIONAL OR GROUP ACTIVITIES (WHICH EXCLUDE US) FINANCED OUT OF THE REGULAR UN BUDGET.

16. HUMAN RIGHTS/TERRORISM

A. AGENDA: BOTH EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT DOUBLE STANDARD AND AGREED THAT APART FROM SPECIFIC ISSUES WESTERN COUNTRIES SHOULD SEEK OPPORTUNITY TO EMPHASIZE IMPORTANCE THEY PLACE ON HUMAN RIGHTS. FRENCH SAID FON MIN DE GUIRINGAUD'S UNGA SPEECH WILL ADDRESS THIS QUESTION AND AGREED THERE SHOULD BE COLSE COORDINATION ON THIS SUBJECT.

B. FRG INITIATIVE ON HOSTAGES: FRENCH EXPRESSED
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RESERVATIONS, EMPHASIZING RISKS INVOLVED INCLUDING POSSIBILITY THAT DEFINITION OF "INNOCENT" AND "HOSTAGES" COULD BE ABUSED TO POINT WHERE CONCEIVABLY ANY WHITE COULD BE

CONSIDERED "NON-INNOCENT". US EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE OF AVOIDING A BATTLE AT INSCRIPTION STAGE AND NEED TO MOVE SUGGESTION RAPIDLY TO COMMITTEE STAGE WHERE ITS FEASIBILITY COULD BE EXAMINED CLOSELY. FRANCE TOOK NOTE OF US COMMENT THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF ARABS COULD BE PERSUADED OF THIS.

C. POLITICAL PRISONERS: FRANCE INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO SUPPORT SWEDISH PROPOSAL. US EXPLAINED ITS RESERVATIONS WITH VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF CURRENT LANGUAGE.

17. ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGET QUESTIONS: DISCUSSIONS CENTERED ON FRENCH PROPOSAL RECENTLY MADE IN GENEVA GROUP. FRENCH AGREED THAT THEIR PROPOSED APPROACH TO LIMITING BUDGET GROWTH SHOULD FIRST BE ATTEMPTED IN 2 - 3 SPECIALIZED AGENCIES; ONLY THEN MIGHT CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO UN ITSELF. IN MEANTIME, THE US "TWO TRACK" APPROACH SHOULD BE MAINTAINED. FRENCH HAVE "FIRM INSTRUCTIONS" TO OPPOSE "ANY UNREASONABLE INCREASED" IN UN BUDGET THIS YEAR. RE GENEVA GROUP CONSULTATIVE MEETING IN NY OCT 6 - 7, BOTH AGREED IT IS IMPORTANT TO LIMIT DISCUSSION TO SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND TO ENSURE THAT ANY PUBLICITY BE CAREFULLY MANAGED. RE SCALE OF ASSESSMENTS, FRANCE HOPED FIFTH COMMITTEE "WOULD AVOID TAKING PITI ON HARD CURRENCY COUNTRIES SUCH AS THE FRG". FRENCH TOOK NOTE OF US EMPHASIS ON IMPORTANCE OF AN EXTERNAL EVALUATION MECHANISM.

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